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The Refurbishment and Renovation of the Palais-Royal during the Regency

JEAN-FRANÇOIS BÉDARD



Philippe II, duc d'Orléans, began transforming the Palais-Royal when he inherited both his home and title upon the death in 1701 of his father, Philippe I. When he was named regent of France in 1715 it sparked his even grander architectural ambitions for the Paris residence (fig. 5.1). Beginning in 1713–14 and until his death in 1723, he had his first architect, Gilles-Marie Oppenord, remodel large portions of the palace. At the Palais-Royal, Oppenord amplified references to the *grand goût*—the elevated official artistic taste of the seventeenth century. The regent embraced these forms, not the more fashionable *goût moderne*—the “modern taste” known now as the Rococo—to enhance his political agenda. As regent, Philippe II needed first and foremost to preserve the

monarchy until the king's majority. The duc d'Orléans and his architect recast the Palais-Royal as a surrogate Versailles, transforming his palace into a center of royal power in the capital, which the monarchy had deserted since 1666.

THE “LE BRUN OF ARCHITECTURE”

As first architect (1713) and then director of buildings and gardens (1719) to the regent, Oppenord was ideally situated to work within this formal tradition.¹ His father, Alexandre-Jean Oppenordt, was *ébéniste* (fine inlay furniture maker), to Louis XIV in the royal building works, specializing in decorative inlay work and furniture for the royal residences.² Thanks to his father's acquaintance with the superintendent of buildings, Matthieu de la Teulière, the younger Oppenord was able to obtain a coveted residency at the French Academy in Rome, where he lived from 1692 to 1699. There the young architect perfected his understanding of earlier celebrated seventeenth-century forms through an intense study of the Italian Baroque.

Gilles-Marie Oppenord (French, 1672–1742),
Design for a five-branch wall sconce with a
satyr putto, Palais-Royal, ca. 1717.
Detail of fig. 5.15

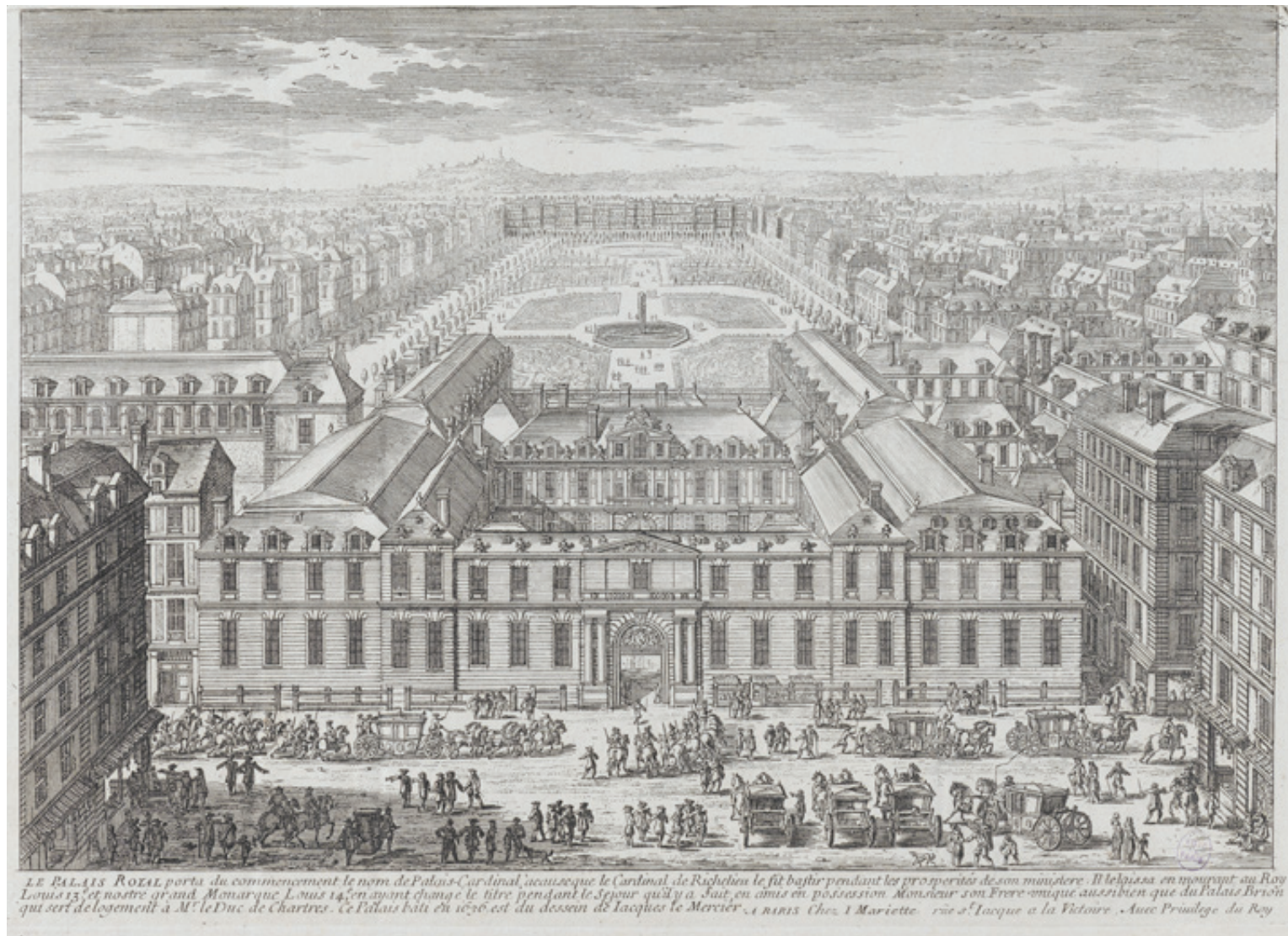


FIG. 5.1. Jean Mariette (French, ca. 1654–1742) after Jacques Lemercier (French, ca. 1584–1654). Aerial perspective of the Palais-Royal from Rue Saint-Honoré, ca. 1680. Engraving, 25.3 × 38.7 cm (9¹⁵/₁₆ × 15¹/₄ in.). Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Topographie, 31 B © Musée Carnavalet/Roger-Viollet

This admiration for the bold ornamentation and geometry of the Roman Baroque aligned him with an earlier generation of French artists and architects, such as Charles Le Brun and Louis Le Vau. In 1748 the painter Saint-Yves summarized Oppenord's attraction to the seventeenth-century *grand goût* (the official grand manner) practiced by his elders, calling him the Le Brun of architecture.³ Like

Charles Le Brun, Louis XIV's first painter, Saint-Yves argued, Oppenord added a new decorative richness to the heritage of antique architecture. Saint-Yves's "antiquity" had, of course, little to do with that studied by the nascent discipline of archaeology; it was rather the Italianate tradition introduced in France by Cardinal Mazarin and made royal by Le Brun in the king's grand apartment at Versailles.

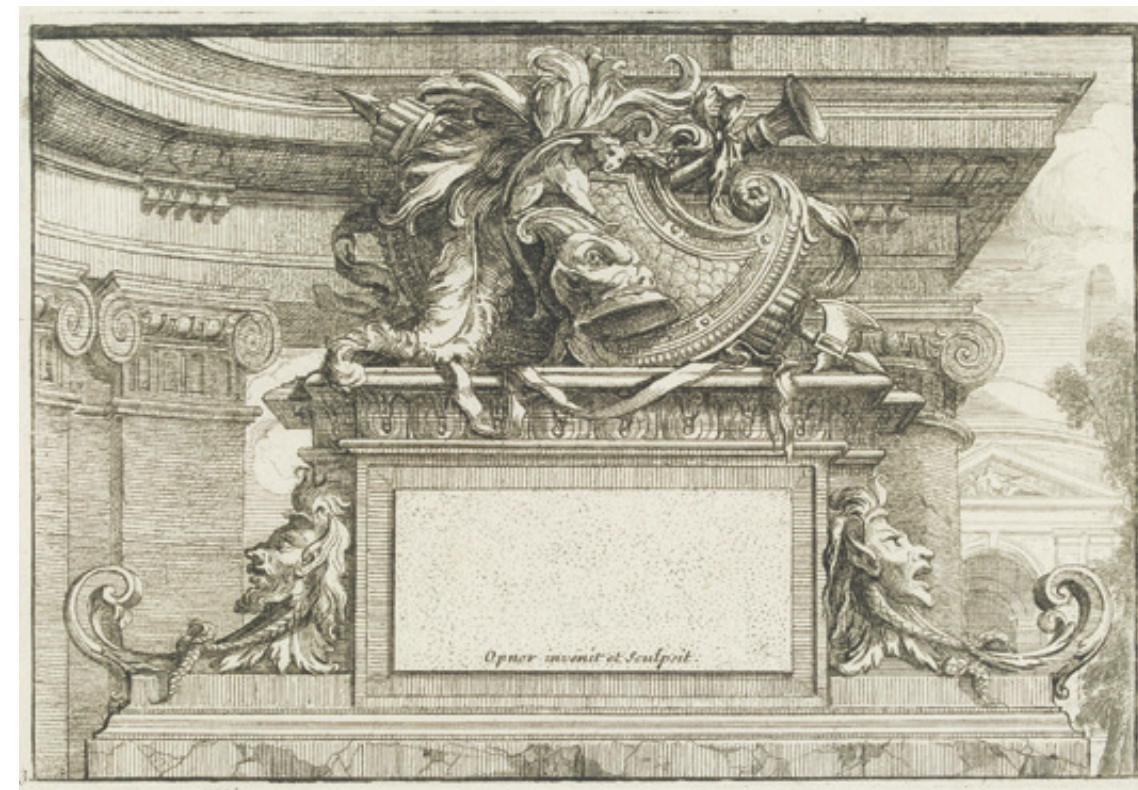


FIG. 5.2. Gilles-Marie Oppenord (French, 1672–1742) and unknown printmaker. "A blank tablet surmounted by a trophy of arms," in *Desseins de couronemens et amortissemens convenables pour dessus de portes, voussures, croisées, niches, &c.* (Paris: Mariette, 1720), pl. 3. 13.5 × 20.2 cm (5³/₁₆ × 7¹⁵/₁₆ in.). London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.5922 – 1908. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Oppenord's contemporaries certainly understood his work in the context of its earlier precedents. In his partial reissue of the seventeenth-century architect Jean Lepautre's collected prints of 1751, Charles-Antoine Jombert chose to include four plates designed and engraved by Oppenord (fig. 5.2).⁴ Jombert's inclusion of Oppenord's overdoor designs, which were the only recent compositions in this decorative pattern book, suggests that the publisher saw clear affinities with the work of earlier architects. Most importantly, Oppenord's references to Le Brun's architectural ornament conjured the memory of the great king in Paris.

FROM THE PALAIS-CARDINAL TO THE PALAIS-ROYAL

The regent's splendid Palais-Royal had originated as a modest *hôtel* (private townhouse). In 1624 Armand-Jean du Plessis, cardinal de Richelieu, bought the Hôtel de Rambouillet (also referred to as the Hôtel de Fresnes) on the Rue Saint-Honoré, near the Louvre, and began remodeling the mansion the

following year.⁵ In 1628–29 his architect, Jacques Lemercier, built the first of many additions between 1633 and 1644 that transformed the *hôtel* into a veritable palace, then known as the Palais-Cardinal. At Richelieu's death in December 1642, the greatly expanded building featured two courtyards: one facing the garden and a forecourt on the street (fig. 5.3). Two superimposed galleries—the top one, the Galerie des Hommes Illustres (Gallery of Illustrious Men), named for the portraits of great Frenchmen on its walls—and a domed chapel delimited the garden court to the west. The east wing housed the cardinal's sumptuous new apartment, which featured a lavish gilt room with views on the garden. In 1639–40 Lemercier added a theater to the east of the forecourt, making the first purpose-built auditorium in Paris. He also began the construction of a large library wing to the west, and on the other side of the forecourt, which would extend to the Rue de Richelieu, but Richelieu's death in December 1642 prevented its completion.

Attracted by the up-to-date amenities of the Palais-Cardinal, Queen Anna of Austria moved in the following year, after the death of her husband Louis XIII in May of

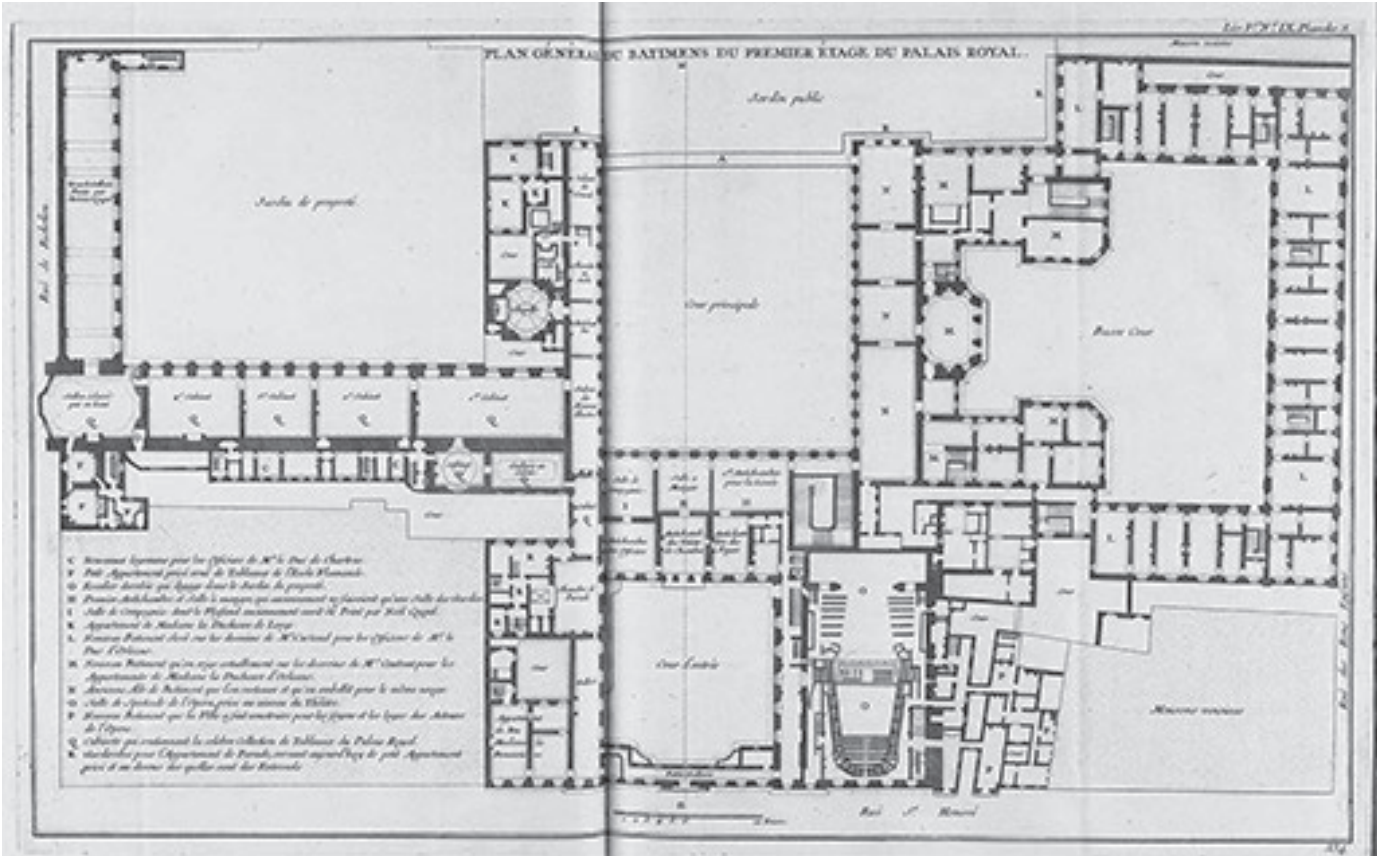


FIG. 5.3. Second-floor plan, Palais-Royal. From Jacques-François Blondel (French, 1705–1774). *Architecture française* (Paris: Charles-Antoine Jombert, 1754). 3, book V, no. IX, pl. 3. Kyoto University Library. Photograph courtesy of the Main Library of Kyoto University Library. Copyright 2000

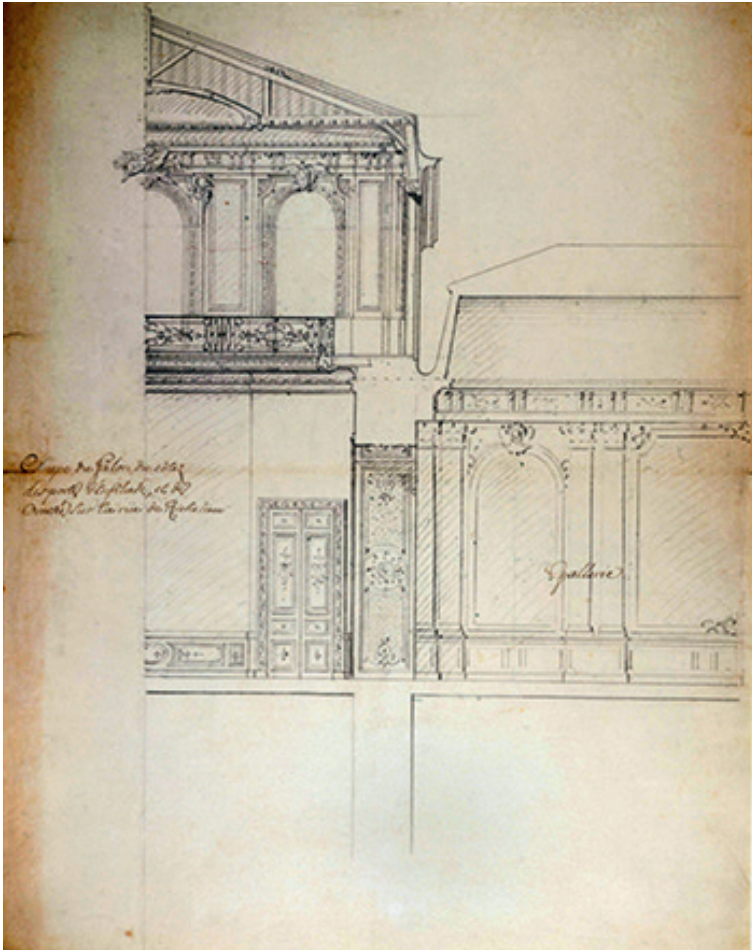
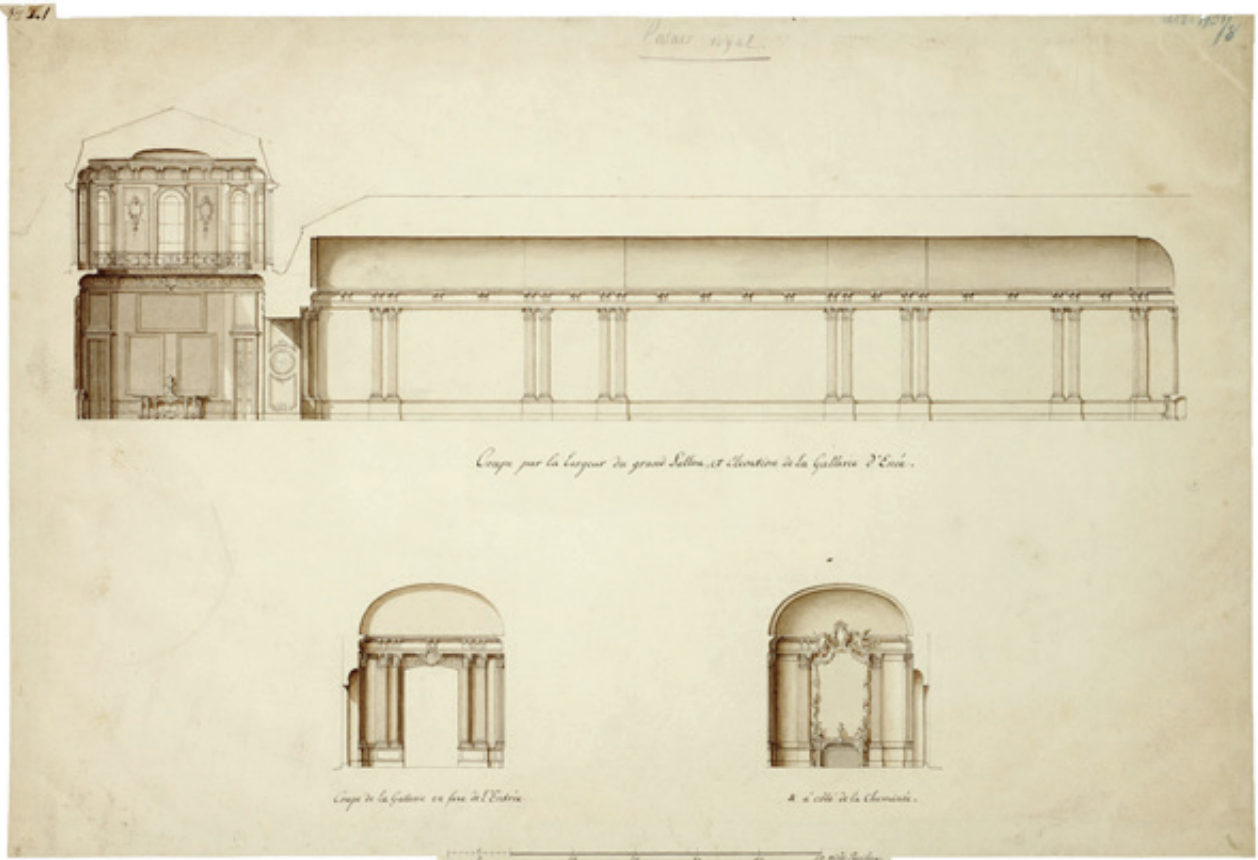


FIG. 5.4. Gilles-Marie Oppenord (French, 1672–1742). Partial section of the final scheme for the salon and partial longitudinal section toward the Rue de Richelieu of the Gallery of Aeneas at the Palais-Royal, 1719–21. Black chalk and pen and brown ink on beige laid paper, 57 × 44.5 cm (22⁷/₁₆ × 17¹/₂ in.). Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Cabinet des arts graphiques, D. 14408. © Musée Carnavalet/Roger-Viollet

FIG. 5.5. Simon du Ry (French, 18th century). Longitudinal of the salon and the Gallery of Aeneas, Palais-Royal, 1751. {TK: DIMENSIONS}. Marburg, Staatsarchiv Marburg, Karten P II, Nr. 9546/I.



1643, and lived there until 1651. Richelieu had bequeathed the palace to the Crown and it was renamed the Palais-Royal. Following his first marriage to Henrietta Maria on 31 March 1661, Philippe I d'Orléans (known as Monsieur), father of the future regent, moved his family into the building, which had been left in neglect for a decade. Documents record repairs to the building throughout the 1680s,⁶ though the most important transformations took place after Philippe's brother, Louis XIV, bestowed the building to the Orléans family as part of their appanage in 1692. Monsieur hired the king's first architect, Jules Hardouin-Mansart, to supervise the work.⁷ Hardouin-Mansart's principal interventions consisted of the subdivision of the first floor of Richelieu's library wing into a new grand apartment, including five ceremonial rooms in enfilade: an antechamber used for dining, a *chambre de parade* (reception room for guests), a *salle d'audience* (an audience chamber), and a resplendent, mirrored *grand cabinet*.

Around 1698–1700 Hardouin-Mansart added a new gallery perpendicular to the *grand cabinet* and running north along the Rue de Richelieu, which under Philippe II would become the Galerie d'Énée (Gallery of Aeneas).⁸ Particularly notable, for the decoration of that gallery, Hardouin-Mansart reemployed motifs he had used twenty years before in the Galerie des Glaces, or the Hall of Mirrors, at Versailles. The right portion of a later drawing by Oppenord (fig. 5.4) and a drawing by the architect Simon du Ry record Hardouin-Mansart's initial decor, which consisted of paired Corinthian pilasters placed on pedestals that were part of a continuous dado (fig. 5.5).⁹ Mirrors and paintings occupied the spaces between the pilasters on the west wall; the east wall had windows looking out to the interior gardens.¹⁰ As at Versailles, a favorite motif of the architect—pairs of brackets above each capital and two engaged columns flanked by pillars—framed the gallery's entrance.¹¹ Finally, also looking to Versailles, abundant gilding enhanced the capitals and other ornaments.

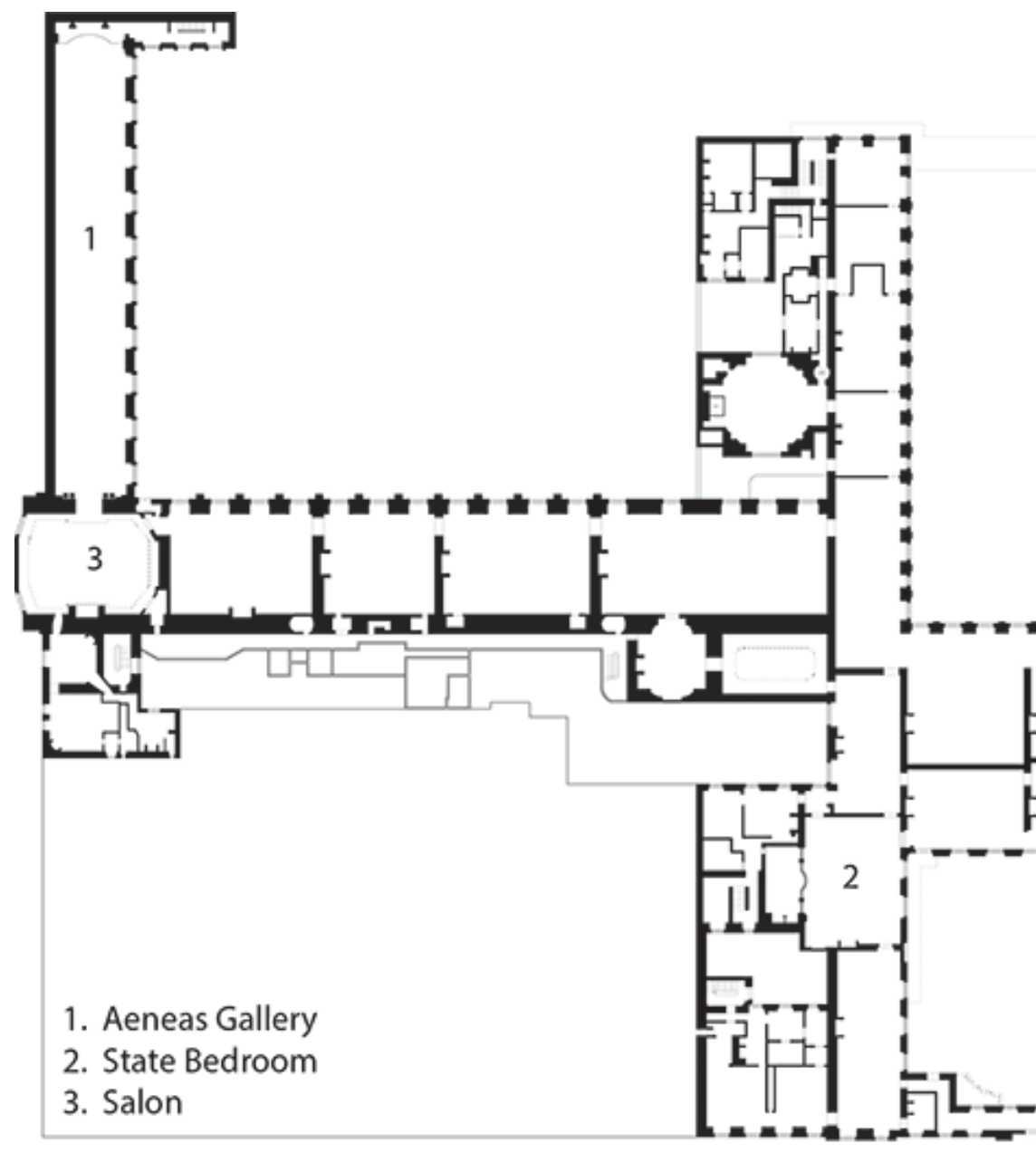


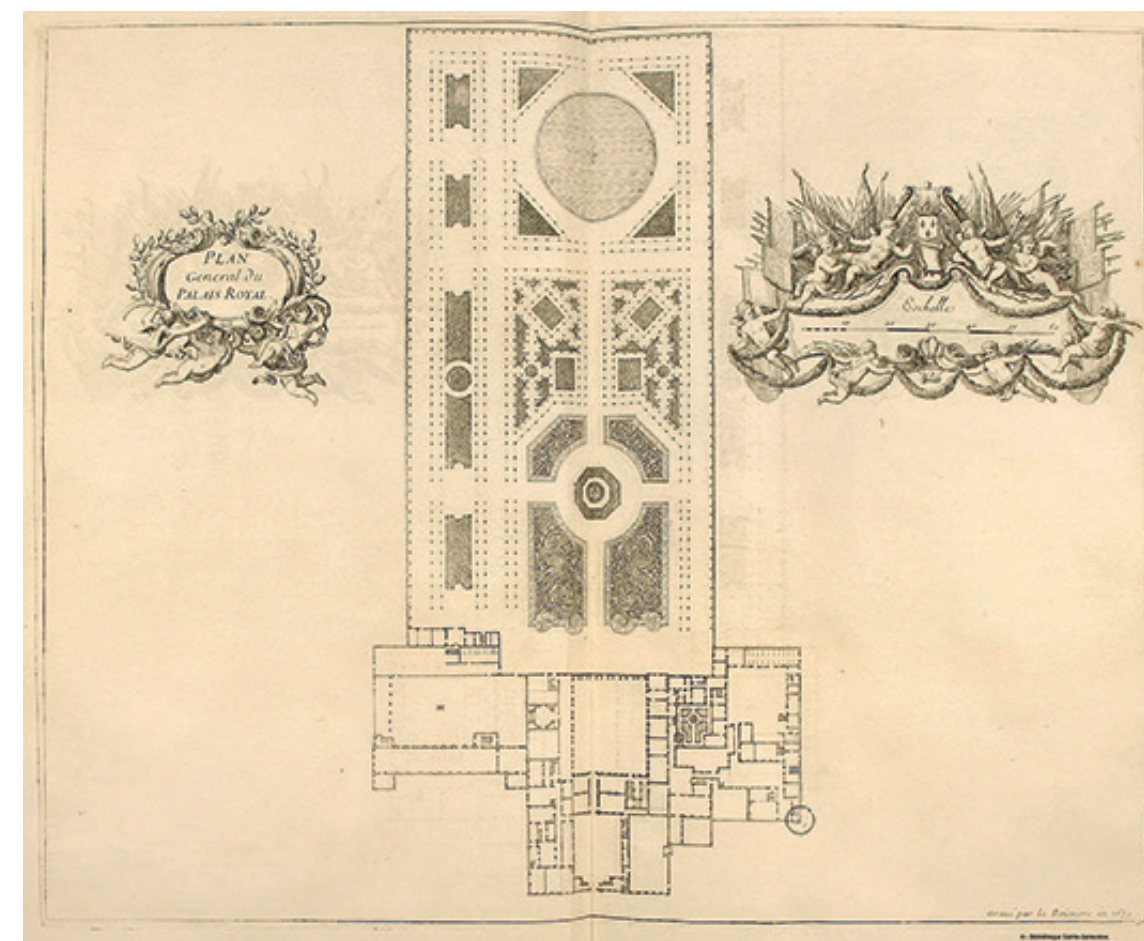
FIG. 5.6. Jared Wright-Ward. Plan of the western part of the Palais-Royal. Photo courtesy of the author.

THE REGENT'S PALAIS-ROYAL

Although Philippe II inherited the Palais-Royal upon his father's death in 1701, he only embarked on important architectural refurbishments in 1713, at the time of Antoine Coypel's new painting cycle (completed in two campaigns 1702–5, 1715–8). As had his predecessor, Oppenord focused mainly on the western portion of the

palace, and Hardouin-Mansart's work lay the groundwork for Oppenord's implementation of the royal *grand goût* at the Palais-Royal (fig. 5.6). On the second floor, he transformed the grand apartment, the gallery (late 1713–18), the cabinet (1719–21), the private apartment (1716), and the regent's small apartment (1720–21). On the ground floor, he also redecorated the duchess's apartment located below the gallery (1716) (fig. 5.7).

FIG. 5.7. Gilles Jodelet de La Boissière (French, 17th century). Plan of the ground floor of the Palais Royal and its gardens, 1679. 47.5 × 37.5 cm (18¹¹/₁₆ × 14³/₄ in.). Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, FOL W 183 INV 245 RES (P.12).



THE GALLERY OF AENEAS (LATE 1713–18)

Oppenord embarked on an initial remodeling of the gallery to accommodate Antoine Coypel's new ceiling painting, *Assembly of the Gods*, completed in 1705 (cat. 6).¹² Most likely at the end of 1713, when he was appointed first architect to the duc d'Orléans, or perhaps early the following year, Oppenord began to refurbish the gallery, and the regent commissioned seven additional paintings from Coypel on the subject of Aeneas.¹³ Arranged on the blank wall on the Rue de Richelieu, Coypel's first three canvases date from 1715–17.¹⁴ In the summer of 1717, two of the new paintings were installed, and the rest appear to have been in place by February 1718 (fig. 5.8).¹⁵

The extension of Coypel's project from the ceiling to include a cycle of pictures along the walls initiated a

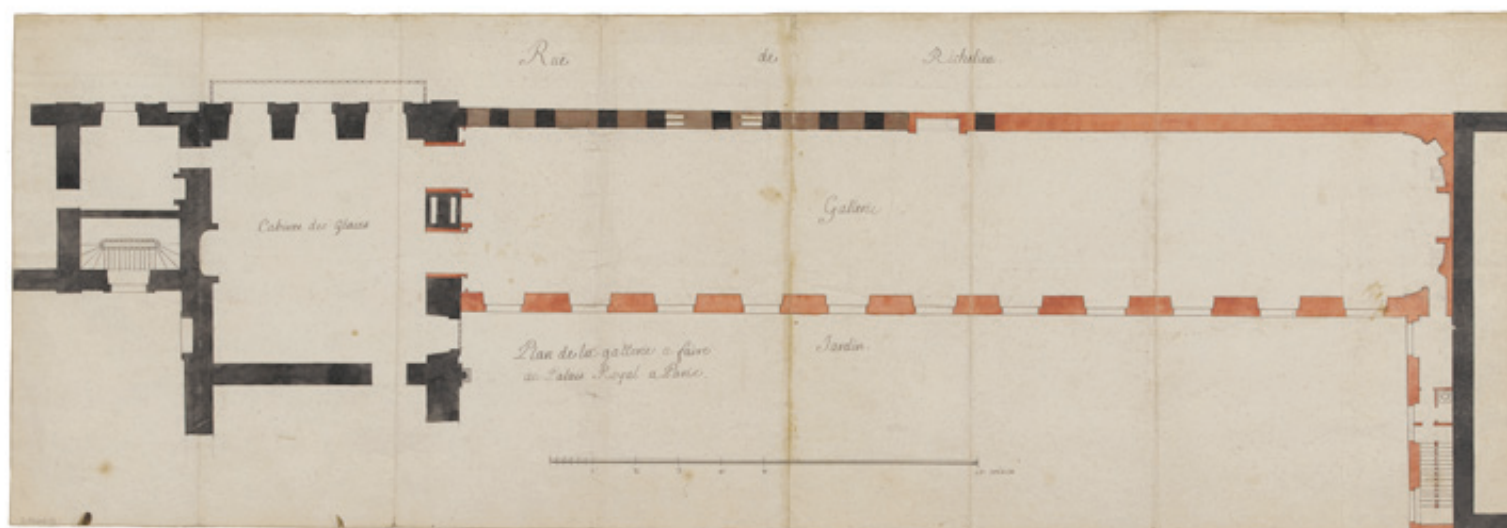
reorganization of the gallery's decorative scheme. Oppenord largely preserved Hardouin-Mansart's earlier architectural scheme, but, to accommodate the new canvases, Oppenord simply added panels between the pilasters (see fig. 5.4). It is difficult to ascertain the authorship of the paintings' frames. Engravings of the series depict frames including military trophies, helmets, palm fronds, cartouches, and mascarons.¹⁶ These motifs are reminiscent of the gilded bronze ornaments used at Versailles, which may suggest the decoration was part of Hardouin-Mansart's earlier campaign, though Oppenord could equally be responsible.¹⁷ The architect William Chambers, in his sketches of the Palais-Royal interiors of 1749–55, identifies Oppenord as the author of some of the trophies; a print by Gabriel Huquier of two Oppenord designs likewise portrays similar designs.¹⁸

Despite Saugrain's assertion that "this composition, and many other works in the same Palace, were designed



FIG. 5.8. Jeremy Burns. Perspectival reconstruction of the Gallery of Aeneas, Palais-Royal (ca. 1698–1718), looking north, 2015.

FIG. 5.9. Office of Jules Hardouin-Mansart (French, 1646–1708). Second-floor plan, Palais-Royal gallery, ca. 1698–1700. Pen and wash with india ink and red watercolor on paper, 24.2 × 71 cm (9½ × 27½ in.). Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Cabinet des arts graphiques, D. 14406 (1). © Musée Carnavalet/Roger-Viollet



& built by *Gilles-Marie Oppenord*, first architect to H. R. H.," it is difficult to determine the extent to which Oppenord modified Hardouin-Mansart's decor for the end wall of the Gallery of Aeneas.¹⁹ We know from a plan that Hardouin-Mansart set out its essential structure (fig. 5.9). To recall the imperial motif of a triumphal arch, he positioned two pairs of Corinthian pilasters framing curved panels, which he placed on each side of a mantelpiece surmounted by a mirror.²⁰ Either Hardouin-Mansart or Oppenord could have devised the elaborate sculpted decoration at the culmination

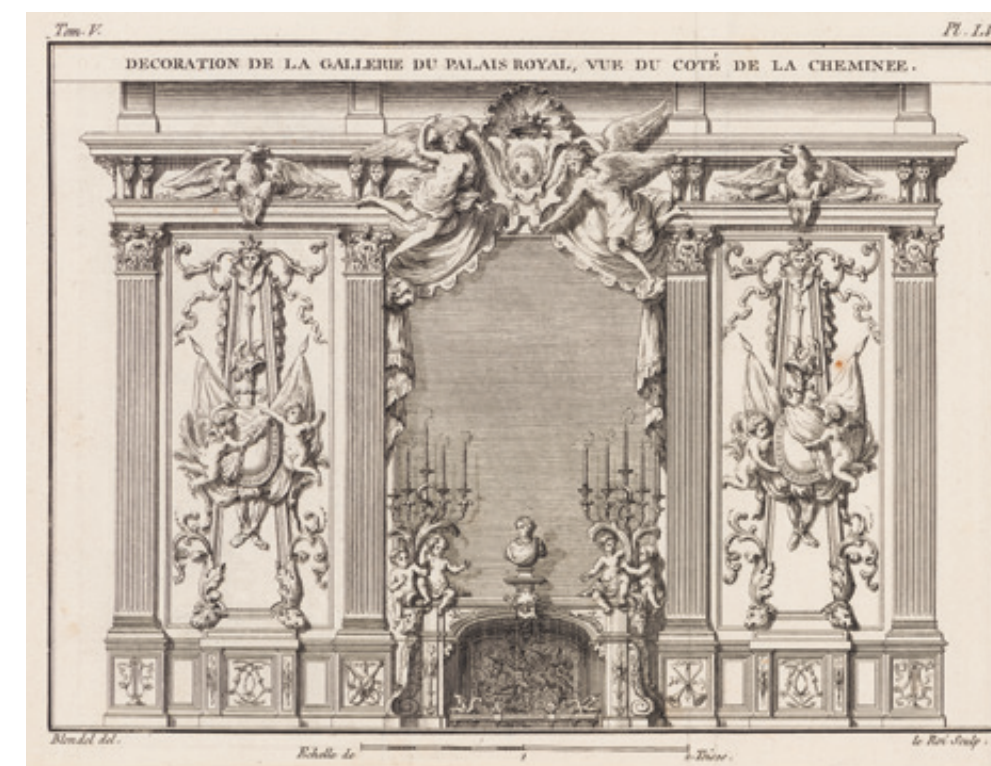
of the progression through the gallery, at the north end (figs. 5.10, 5.11). The ensemble featured obelisks and trophies with shields and flags held up by putti, and included winged helmets and clubs, the attributes of the Gallic Hercules, a traditional personification of French royal power.

This celebration of royal power is a specific reference to Jacques-François Blondel's triumphal arch at the Porte Saint-Denis, erected in 1672 to commemorate Louis XIV's crossing of the Rhine, a monument so well known that it served as the frontispiece to Blondel's *Cours d'architecture*



FIG. 5.10. Gilles-Marie Oppenord (French, 1672–1742). Half elevation of the mantelpiece for the Gallery of Aeneas at the Palais-Royal, ca. 1714–17. Pen and brown ink, with wash and black chalk on laid paper, 53.9 × 34.9 cm (21¼ × 13¾ in.). Aylesbury, Waddesdon Manor (National Trust), Gift of Dorothy de Rothschild, 1971, 2119. Image: Mike Fear © National Trust, Waddesdon Manor

FIG. 5.11. Jacques-François Blondel (French, 1705–1774) after Gilles-Marie Oppenord (French, 1672–1742). "Decoration of the gallery of the Palais-Royal, seen from the fireplace," in Blondel, *Cours d'architecture*, vol. 5 (Paris: Veuve Desaint, 1777), pl. LV. 20.7 × 27.8 cm (8¼ × 10½ in.). Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal



**FIG. 5.12. Jacques-François
Blondel (French, 1705–1774).
Porte Saint-Denis, Paris,
1672. Photo Credit: Felix
Lipov / Shutterstock.com**



FIG. 5.13. Jacques-François Blondel (French, 1705–1774). *Cours d'architecture* (Paris: Lambert Roulland, 1675), title page with frontispiece engraved by Gilles Jodelet de La Boissière (French, 17th century). Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, NA2517.B566 1675.



(fig. 5.12, 5.13).²¹ The gigantic mirror above the mantelpiece took the place of the arch's central opening and the simulated drapery hiding the mirror's edges reinforced the illusion of a void. Above, winged victories carried the Orléans device. Whether this triumphalist design was meant to celebrate the regent's own military prowess or that of his father, the gallery's hemicycle was an extension of Blondel's well-known monument.

All guidebooks of the period report that Oppenord was responsible for the mantelpiece and its military tribute.²² Above the central cartouche located at the apex of the arch he installed a bust of Louis XV on a pedestal (fig. 5.11). By placing a portrait of the young king at the very center of the gallery's martial shrine, under the crest of the Orléans, Oppenord conveyed architecturally Philippe II as the steadfast guardian of the monarchy.



FIG. 5.14. Gilles-Marie Oppenord (French, 1672–1742). Sectional elevation of the regent's bedroom at the Palais-Royal, ca. 1716. Pen and black with brush and gray wash and watercolor on laid paper, 21.2 × 36 cm (8 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 14 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.). New York, Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, 1911–28–81. Photo: Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum / Art Resource, NY

THE REGENT'S BEDROOM (1716)

If in the gallery Oppenord employed forms associated with the dukes of Orléans as military commanders, refurbishment of the duke's state bedroom, completed at the end of 1716, hinted at the king's at Versailles.²³ A drawing in the Musée Carnavalet in Paris documents Oppenord's alternate schemes for the regent's bedroom, and in the final version Oppenord expanded the bedroom to the west, locating the bed alcove in the center of the building, placing the bed opposite windows on the forecourt. This formal organization directly mimicked the king's bedroom at Versailles, which faced its inner marble courtyard. Further referencing

Hardouin-Mansart's design for the Versailles bedroom, Oppenord flanked the state bed with two columns on each side and used the composite order associated with nobility.²⁴ Three large mirrors adorned the bedroom: an arched mirror in a gilded and sculpted wood frame above the fireplace on the south wall, facing an identical one on the north wall, and a mirror between the two windows across from the regent's bed.²⁵ As suggested by Alexandre Pradère, the right portion of a print by Huquier may show paneling that flanked the fireplace.²⁶ The delicate ornament includes a ducal crown similar to the one placed above the regent's bed (fig. 5.14), a cartouche, part of the Orléans arms, and a mosaic of fleur-de-lis that recalls the white and gold in the tympanum of

FIG. 5.15. Gilles-Marie Oppenord (French, 1672–1742). Design for a five-branch wall sconce with a satyr putto, Palais-Royal, ca. 1717. Pen and black ink, brush with black and gray ink, red watercolor and traces of red chalk on laid paper, 42.5 × 17.7 cm (16¾ × 7 in.). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet, RP-T-1964-134.



the arch over the king's bed at Versailles. A drawing of a wall sconce by Oppenord, which may be associated with the Palais-Royal project, features a similar fleur-de-lis mosaic (fig. 5.15).²⁷

The room's decoration can be reconstructed with confidence. The alcove walls of the regent's bedroom were covered in crimson damask, as were the state bed, armchairs, stools, and a folding screen, in addition to the salon and most of the rooms of the grand apartment of the Palais-Royal.²⁸ Three pairs of gilt-bronze sconces decorated with ram's heads, and a copper and rock crystal chandelier lit the room.²⁹ Moreover, the 1752 probate inventory of the regent's son, Louis d'Orléans, notes four overdoor paintings that must have been installed by the regent. These include a portrait of Marie de' Medici by Anthony van Dyck over the enfilade door to the southeast, a portrait of Philip II by Titian over a false door to the southwest; portraits of the painter Frans Snyders and his wife by Van Dyck over the northeast and northwest doors (no. 676; 3,000 livres); and a portrait of Snyders's wife by the same artist over the wardrobe door to the northwest (no. 677; 3,000 livres).³⁰ (figs. 3.27, 3.28) Such an inclusion of preeminent paintings was likewise a feature of the king's bedroom at Versailles.

THE SALON (CA. 1719–21)

Oppenord's salon was the centerpiece of the regent's transformation of the Palais-Royal and the architect's crowning achievement.³¹ It replaced Hardouin-Mansart's cabinet and linked the grand apartment with the Gallery of Aeneas. As a *salon à l'italienne*, the room rose two stories with two rows of windows, and was covered by a coffered or domed ceiling.

FIG. 5.16. Gilles-Marie Oppenord (French, 1672–1742). Sectional elevation of the salon at the Palais-Royal, 1719–21. Pen and black and brown ink with brush and watercolor on laid paper, 58.2 × 42.9 cm (22½ × 16¾ in.). New York, Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, 1911–28–80. Photo: Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum / Art Resource, NY



Six autograph drawings in the Musée Carnavalet shed light on the evolution of Oppenord's design for the salon.³² In his second proposal, documented by a plan, an exterior elevation, and a section, Oppenord altered the existing space radically to tackle its lack of symmetry (fig. 5.16). He devised a rectangular room with two semicircular apses, one of which protruded out over the street and was supported by a squinch. To match the gallery's mantelpiece, Oppenord articulated the walls of the salon with two *serlianas* (or large, arched windows) facing each other, one on the south wall

framing a mantelpiece surmounted by a mirror, the other on the north wall surrounding the door leading to the gallery. In plan, Oppenord's serlianas clearly expressed the structural organization of the room, the Ionic pilasters defining its geometry. Above, the pilasters gave way to an Attic order, with terms holding the imposts of an arched window. The architect might have looked at Hardouin-Mansart's salon at Marly, where Hardouin-Mansart had also used Ionic pilasters and, like Le Vau at Vaux-le-Vicomte, surmounted them by herms. As with his other designs for the Palais-

Royal, Oppenord’s putti holding crests and trophies recall ornaments from the Salon de Guerre at Versailles.

Oppenord’s final plan for the salon utilized a rectangle with cropped corners.³³ As it became more compact, the salon gained spatial complexity. He inflected an octagonal mezzanine balcony with shallow curves and counter-curves. He also simplified the wall decoration, the walls receiving only a dado (figs. 5.17, 5.18). His decision to pare down his decor must have been driven by the regent’s wish to display recently acquired paintings from Queen Christina of Sweden’s collection, acquired in 1721.³⁴ The probate inventories of both the regent and his son Louis d’Orléans in 1724 and 1752, in addition to several contemporary guidebooks, confirm that Christina’s pictures were hung in Oppenord’s salon. In a cross-section of the salon, Simon du Ry shows an arrangement of rectangular canvases and overdoor paintings (see fig. 5.5).

For the second story of the salon, Oppenord adopted a simpler decoration. He framed the arched windows with delicate ornament interspersed with blank wall (see fig. 5.4).³⁵ Oppenord topped the salon with a frieze punctuated by pairs of consoles, an archaic motif patterned on Hardouin-Mansart’s gallery entablature and that of the grand apartment (see figs. 5.4, 5.18).

A PARISIAN VERSAILLES

In 1719 Claude-Marie Saugrain remarked that the magnificence of the Palais-Royal’s grand apartment was unusual for Paris.³⁶ Indeed, the fabric and tapestries, furniture, and bronzes came together with the duke’s extraordinary collection of paintings into a grand suite of rooms which rivaled the Sun King’s own grand apartment

at Versailles. The regent’s collection, second only to the king’s in the quantity and quality of its Italian masterpieces, complemented the studied antiquarianism of the decor.

The large scale of the salon and the adjoining Gallery of Aeneas reinforced the impression of grandeur and connection to royal edifices. In fact, Oppenord’s final scheme for the salon approximated the measurements of the king’s salon at the Château de Marly, Hardouin-Mansart’s masterpiece.³⁷ Although actually much smaller than the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, the Palais-Royal gallery was impressive. The extensive use of mirrors in the south wall of the salon and north wall of the Gallery of Aeneas together produced the impression of a central space bound by two galleries, an implied vastness also noted by Saugrain.³⁸ This architectural device brought to Paris some of the vastness of the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles despite the limited space afforded by the palace’s urban site.

At Louis XIV’s death, the regent insisted that the young Louis XV leave his great-grandfather’s palace and live near Paris in the Château de Vincennes; he later moved to the Tuileries in Paris. By bringing the young king to Paris, the regent wished to make the monarchy Parisian once again, half a century after Louis XIV had abandoned the capital for Versailles in 1666. Philippe II pursued the same strategy in his grand architectural redesign of the Palais-Royal. The Gallery of Aeneas culminated with a spectacular mantelpiece making reference to one of the great monuments of Louis XIV’s reign, and the regent’s state bedroom evoked Louis XIV’s private apartments. For his magnificent salon, Oppenord again emulated the great seventeenth-century models. The regent’s Parisian political strategy came to an end in 1722, when Louis XV decided to return the court to Versailles. Thanks to the duc d’Orléans and Oppenord, however, Paris was dazzling at the center of French politics.

FIG. 5.17. Gabriel Huquier (French, 1695–1772) after Gilles-Marie Oppenord (French, 1672–1742). Fireplaces and paneling for a *salon à l’italienne*, Palais-Royal, in “Livre de différentes décorations d’appartement,” in the *Grand Oppenord*, pl. CIX (SS2). 46.4 × 36.8 cm (18¼ × 18¾ in.). Montreal, Canadian Centre for Architecture.

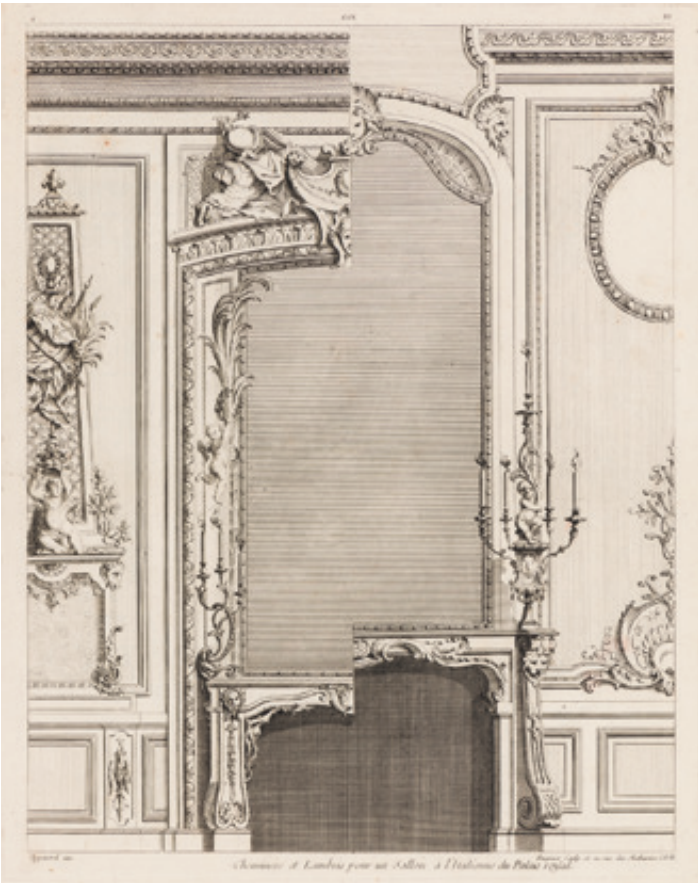
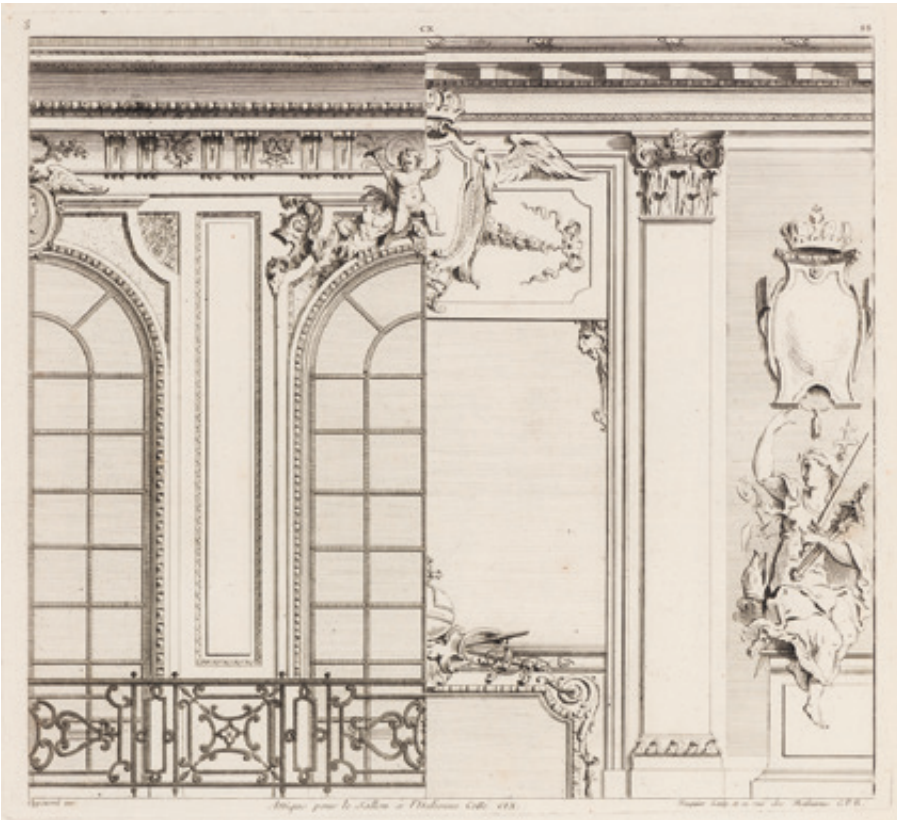


FIG. 5.18. Gabriel Huquier (French, 1695–1772) after Gilles-Marie Oppenord (French, 1672–1742). Upper register and cornice for a *salon à l’italienne*, Palais-Royal, in “Livre de différentes décorations d’appartement,” in the *Grand Oppenord*, pl. CX (SS3). 33.6 × 36.9 cm (13¼ × 14½ in.). Montreal, Canadian Centre for Architecture.



1. The first mention of Oppenord as first architect of the duc d'Orléans dates from December 1713. Paris, Archives Nationales, Minutier Central des Notaires Parisiens (hereafter ANMC), ét. IV, 373, 30 December 1713; this is not in Mireille Rambaud, ed., *Documents du minutier central concernant l'histoire de l'art (1700–1750)*, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1964–71). His status as the regent's buildings director dates to October 1719, ANMC, ét. IV, 407, 2 October 1719, also not in Rambaud, *Documents du minutier central*. Rambaud places Oppenord's appointment as first architect instead in 1715; see Rambaud, *Documents du minutier central*, 2:xiv. In this, she follows Fiske Kimball, *The Creation of the Rococo* (New York: Norton, 1964), 114.
2. A. J. Oppenordt provided several pieces of furniture, some in collaboration with the king's draftsman Jean Bérain the elder, for the king's small apartment at Versailles. See Alexandre Pradère, *Les ébénistes français de Louis XIV à la Révolution* (Paris: Chêne, 1989), 65. A. J. Oppenordt was also responsible for the elaborate marquetry floor designed by Simon Chuppin for the *petite galerie* and the two salons in the same apartment. Jules-J. Guiffrey, ed., *Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi sous le règne de Louis XIV* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1881–1901), 2:col. 774 (18 March–9 December 1685), 2:col. 999 (10 March 1686).
3. “Engraver Huquier has published some ornamental designs by Oppenord, which are remarkably noble and of a taste inspired by antiquity, but richer” [Saint-Yves], *Observations sur les arts et sur quelques morceaux de peinture & de sculpture exposés au Louvre en 1748, où il est parlé de l'utilité des embellissemens dans les villes* (Leyden: Elias Luzac, 1748), 132.
4. Pierre-Jean Mariette, *Dessains de couronemens et amortissemens convenables pour dessus de portes, voussures, croisées, niches, &c.* . . . (Paris: Mariette, 1720); rpt. in Jean Lepautre, *Œuvres d'architecture de Jean Le Pautre, architecte, dessinateur & graveur du roi* (Paris: Jombert, 1751). They also feature in some copies by Nicolas Langlois, *L'architecture à la mode ou sont les nouveaux dessins pour la décoration des bâtimens et jardins* (Paris: Langlois, n. d.), fig. 3271. See Peter Fuhring, “From Commerce to Fashion: The Architecture à la Mode or an Ornament Encyclopedia of the Louis XIV Period,” *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 14 (2007): 146–64.
5. For an account of the construction of the Palais-Cardinal, see Alexandre Gady, *Jacques Lemercier architecte et ingénieur du roi* (Paris: Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2005), 240–43, 294–306.
6. Victor Champier and G. Roger Sandoz, *Le Palais-Royal d'après des documents inédits (1629–1900)* (Paris: Société de propagation des livres d'art, 1900), 1:152–54.
7. For Hardouin-Mansart's work at the Palais-Royal, see Bertrand Jestaz, *Jules Hardouin-Mansart* (Paris: Picard, 2008), 1:365–66; and Claudia Rudeck, “Aile de la galerie du Palais-Royal,” in *Jules-Hardouin Mansart 1646–1708*, ed. Alexandre Gady (Paris: Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2010), 417–20.
8. On 19 April 1700, the construction was significantly advanced for a *marché* (contract) the wood paneling to be passed, ANMC, ét. I, 214, 19 April 1700, transcribed in Jestaz, *Hardouin-Mansart*, 2:157. Another *marché* dated 24 April 1700 stipulated the completion of the work in August of the same year, ANMC, ét. I, 214, 24 April 1700, 1r–v; Champier and Sandoz, *Le Palais-Royal*; document cited in Rambaud, *Documents du minutier central*, 2:657; Franck Folliot, “Le Palais Royal (1692–1770),” in *Le Palais Royal*, ed. Françoise Bercé et al., exh. cat. (Paris: Musée Carnavalet, 1988), 59, and transcribed in Jestaz, *Hardouin-Mansart*, 2:157. This *marché* was canceled on 26 April, ANMC, ét. I, 214, 24 April 1700, 1v. It was replaced by another one, involving different woodworkers, drafted on the same date, ANMC, ét. XV, 372, 26 April 1700, 1r; this does not appear in Rambaud, *Documents du minutier central* or in Jestaz, *Hardouin-Mansart*. The three arches confirm the traditional attribution of the gallery's design to Hardouin-Mansart.
9. Jacques-François Blondel describes this decor in *Architecture française, ou Recueil des plans, élévations, coupes et profils des églises, maisons royales, palais, hôtels & édifices les plus considérables de Paris*, 4 vols. (Paris: Charles-Antoine Jombert, 1752–56), bk. V, no. IX, 43. Unlike Blondel, who indicated that the pilasters were of the Corinthian order, authors of guidebooks suggested that they were of the composite order. Germain Brice, *Description nouvelle de la ville de Paris et de tout ce qu'elle contient de plus remarquable*, 7th ed. (Paris: François Fournier, 1717), 1:203; M. L. R. [Claude-Marie Saugrain], *Les curiositez de Paris, de Versailles, de Marly, de Vincennes, de S. Cloud, et des environs*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Paris: Saugrain, 1719), 1:143; M. L. R., [Claude-Marie Saugrain], *Les curiositez de Paris, de Versailles, de Marly, de Vincennes, de S. Cloud, et de Environs* (Paris, 1723), 1:143; Brice, *Nouvelle description de la ville de Paris et de tout ce qu'elle contient de plus remarquable* (Paris: Julien-Michel Gandouin et François Fournier, 1725), 1:241; M. D. [Antoine-Nicolas Dezallier d'Argenville], *Voyage pittoresque de Paris, ou indication de tout ce qu'il y a de plus beau dans cette grande ville en peinture, sculpture & architecture* (Paris: De Bure, 1749), 81; Brice, *Nouvelle description de la ville de Paris*, ed. Pierre Codet and Michel Fleury (1752; Paris: Droz, 1971), 1:256; Jean-Aymar Piganiol de La Force, *Description historique de la ville de Paris et de ses environs* (Paris: Libraires associés, 1765), 2:333.
10. In 1706 Brice described the gallery's decoration: “The rich paneling that covers both walls is ornamented with mirrors and paintings of seldom-seen beauty.” Germain Brice, *Description nouvelle de la vil[l]e de Paris et recherche des singularitez les plus remarquables qui se trouvent à present dans cette grande Vil[l]e* (Paris: Brunet, 1706), 1:142; cited in Antoine Schnapper, “Antoine Coypel: la galerie d'Énée au Palais-Royal,” *Revue de l'art* 5 (1969): 39.
11. Brice mentions these columns in *Description de la ville de Paris* (1717 ed.), 1:203.
12. [François-Bernard Lépicié], *Vies des premiers peintres du roi depuis M. Le Brun jusqu'à présent* (Paris: Durand, 1752), 2:17–23, cited in Antoine Schnapper, “Antoine Coypel,” 35.
13. Oppenord completed the redesign before Coypel finished his canvases. The team of decorative sculptors—Bellan, Degoullons, Legoupil, and Taupin—were paid for their work in the gallery on 29 April 1714: ANMC, ét. XIII, 167, 27 Sept. 1714, 5v. Bruno Pons mentions this document in *De Paris à Versailles, 1699–1736: Les sculpteurs ornementistes parisiens et l'art décoratif des Bâtiments du roi* (Strasbourg: Association des Publications près les Universités de Strasbourg, 1986), 210.
14. Nicole Garnier, *Antoine Coypel, 1661–1722* (Paris: Arthena, 1989), 170–72, nos. 127–29.
15. Schnapper, “Antoine Coypel,” 35, cites Brice, who discusses five paintings in July 1717, and Saugrain, who describes the seven canvases in February 1718. Brice, *Description de la ville de Paris* (1717 ed.) 1:203–4, with a royal approbation of 7 July 1717; and [Saugrain], *Curiositez de Paris* (1719 ed.), 1:144, with a royal approbation of February 1718.
16. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie (hereafter BNF Est.), Aa 36a. For reproductions of these engravings after Coypel, see Schnapper, “Antoine Coypel,” 36–37; Françoise Mardrus, “Le Régent, mécène et collectionneur,” in *Le Palais Royal*, ed. Françoise Bercé et al., exh. cat. (Paris: Musée Carnavalet, 1988), 78–115; and Katie Scott, *The Rococo Interior: Decoration and Social Spaces in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 198–99, fig. 221, which reproduces Schnapper's diagram.
17. For instance, the helmet and shield compositions in the upper corners of Coypel's largest paintings recall the 1685 bronze ornaments by Balthasar Keller after models by Pierre Mazeline and Noël Jouvenet at the base of the pedestal of Bernini's bust of Louis XIV in the Salon de Diane at Versailles. See Nicolas Milovanovic, *Les grands appartemens de Versailles sous Louis XIV: Catalogue des décors peints* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2005), 54, repro. 57 fig. 31.
18. Gabriel Huquier after Gilles-Marie Oppenord, “Designs for the doors of the Grande Galerie of the Palais-Royal,” plate CC6 of the *Livre de différentes portes*, XXI of the *Grand Oppenord*, [1749–51], right half.
19. “Cette composition, & plusieurs autres ouvrages du même Palais, sont du dessein & de l'exécution de Gilles-Marie Oppenord, premier Architecte de S. A. R.” [Saugrain], *Curiositez de Paris* (1719 ed.), 1:146; and [Saugrain], *Curiositez de Paris* (1723 ed.), 1:146. Most guides do not mention his authorship but attribute only the mantelpiece to Oppenord.
20. Both the manuscript (BNF Est., Ve. 86, [2]) and Blondel's printed plan of the gallery (*Architecture française*, bk. V, no. IX, pl. 3, represent the pilasters at right angles with each other so that the infill panels decorated with pyramids and trophies were disposed on curved planes. See also a partial plan of the hemicycle drawn by Hardouin-Mansart (Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Cabinet des arts graphiques, D. 14406 [2]).
21. Jean-François Blondel, *Cours d'architecture . . .* (Paris: Imprimerie de Lambert Roulland, 1675–83). As noted by Jean-Marie Pêrouse de Montclos, *Histoire de l'architecture française de la Renaissance à la Révolution* (Paris: Mengès, 1989), 344, 346, fig. 384.
22. [Saugrain], *Curiositez de Paris* (1719 ed.), 1:145–46; [Saugrain], *Curiositez de Paris* (1723 ed.), 1:145–46; [Dezallier d'Argenville], *Voyage pittoresque de Paris* (1749 ed.), 82; Antoine-Nicolas Dezallier d'Argenville, *Voyage pittoresque de Paris, ou indication de tout ce qu'il y a de plus beau dans cette grande ville en peinture, sculpture & architecture* (Paris: de Bure l'ainé, 1757), 95.
23. Oppenord completed work on the regent's apartment by 24 November 1716. Philippe de Courcillon, marquis de Dangeau, *Journal du marquis de Dangeau publié en entier pour la première fois par MM. Eud. Soulié et L. Dussieux avec les additions inédites du duc de Saint-Simon publiées par M. Feuillet de Conches*, ed. Eudore Soulié and Louis Dussieux (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1854–60), 16:496, cited in Fiske Kimball, “Oppenord au Palais Royal,” *Gazette des beaux-arts* 15 (1936): 113–17, esp. 116.
24. Oppenord had suggested a fanciful capital with lions' heads, foliage, and the Orléans device and fleur-de-lis in his first design for the bedroom. Drawing at the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, no. O. 755.
25. “Inventaire après-décès du régent en 1724,” Paris, Archives Nationales (hereafter AN), X^{1A} 9162, 13v, nos. 111–13.
26. Alexandre Pradère points out the similarities between the leg of a console table, now in a private collection, designed for the regent's bedroom, and that of the column of the fireplace shown on the right half of a drawing by Gabriel Huquier, after Gilles-Marie Oppenord, “Fireplaces and paneling for the apartments of the Palais-Royal,” plate SS5 of the *Livre de différentes décorations d'appartement . . .*, CXII of the *Grand Oppenord*. The straight console leg does correspond to the balustrade design for that room, as shown in an autograph drawing by Oppenord unknown to Pradère. Alexandre Pradère, “Les tables du Palais Royal: évocation du décor intérieur du Régent,” *Antologia delle belle arti* (2003): 63–66, *Studi sul Settecento*, 3:39, the console table is reproduced on p. 36, no. 4, with details on 37, no. 6, and 38, no. 7.
27. The bedroom's six gilded bronze sconces bore instead ram's heads. See “Inventaire après-décès du régent en 1724,” Paris, Archives Nationales, X^{1A}9162,106v, no. 1143.
28. AN, X^{1A} 9162, 12v–13r, no. 107.
29. AN, X^{1A} 9162, 106v–107r, nos. 1143–48; and probate inventory of Louis d'Orléans (1752), AN, AP* 300(I) 774, 108v–109r.
30. AN, AP* 300(I) 774, 166v.
31. Authors date the work on the salon to 1719–20 or 1720–21. AN, R⁴ 1066, 235v–236r; cited in Champier and Sandoz, *Le Palais-Royal*, 1:284–85; Brice, *Nouvelle description de la ville de Paris* (1725), 1:240; and Brice, *Nouvelle description de la ville de Paris* (1752 ed.), 1:255. “For example, H.R.H. had a salon built at the end of the grand gallery, and spent a considerable amount on it. A new one replaced the former in 1719.” AN, R⁴ 1066, 236r. The architectural historian Fiske Kimball, citing passages in the marquis de Dangeau's journal, allows a mere two months between 8 April and 28 May 1720 for its construction. Kimball, “Oppenord au Palais Royal,” 117, using passages in Dangeau, *Journal*, 18:265, 8 April 1720; 18:276, 29 April 1720; 18:285, 12 May 1720; and 18:295, 28 May 1720.
32. Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Département des arts graphiques, D.14407, D.14408, D.14413, D.14414, D.14415, and D.14416.
33. Visiting the Palais-Royal in 1750, the Englishman Maihows described an “octagonal” salon. Maihows, *Paris artistique et monumental en 1750: Lettres du Dr Maihows traduites de l'anglais par Philippe-Florent de Puisieux*, ed. Hippolyte Bonnardot (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1881), 224.
34. The negotiations for the acquisition of the collection of Christina of Sweden from Livio Odescalchi finally came to an end on 14 January 1721. Champier and Sandoz date their shipment to France to October 1721. Champier and Sandoz, *Le Palais-Royal*, 1:304. See also Mardrus, “Le Régent, mécène et collectionneur,” 98.
35. Oppenord's design corresponds to the left half of a print by Gabriel Huquier; see fig. 5.18. Simon du Ry recorded a different wall design that included panels divided into three parts, the central one an oval medallion, and simpler window frames.
36. [Saugrain], *Curiositez de Paris* (1719 ed.), 1:141 and [Saugrain], *Curiositez de Paris* (1723 ed.), 1:141.
37. Based on AN, O² 791, Castelluccio indicates that the salon measured 14.7 meters in diameter and 16 meters in height (based on pieds). Stéphane Castelluccio, *Marly: Art de vivre et pouvoir de Louis XIV à Louis XVI* (Montreuil: Gourcuff, 2014), 33.
38. “The chimneypiece of this great cabinet, all of marble, is surmounted by large mirrors, which produce a particularly pleasing effect, in that they double the gallery by showing it in its totality.” [Saugrain], *Curiositez de Paris* (1723 ed.), 1:143. This had been a feature of Hardouin-Mansart's earlier cabinet, as we find exactly the same passage in the 1719 edition of Saugrain's guide. Saugrain had received a royal privilege for this edition in February 1718, therefore before Oppenord's transformations. See [Saugrain], *Curiositez de Paris* (1719 ed.), 1:143.